

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY MANILA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1972

S E C R E T MANILA 1983

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, RP

SUBJECT: MILITARY BASE NEGOTIATIONS

REF: STATE 29990

1. I AM PLEASED TO LEARN FROM REFTEL THAT AN EXTENSIVE INTER-AGENCY REVIEW OF THE EMBASSY DRAFT AGREEMENT ON MILITARY BASES IS UNDERWAY IN WASHINGTON. THE COMMENTS AND QUESTIONS INDICATE THAT THIS IS A SERIOUS AND SEARCHING ENDEAVOR. WE SHALL ATTEMPT TO BE RESPONSIVE IN THIS SAME VIEN. THIS MESSAGE WILL ADDRESS ITSELF ONLY TO THE ISSUES OF "STRATEGY AND TACTICS" RAISED IN REFTEL. SEPARATE CABLE WILL ANSWER DETAILED ISSUES CONTAINED IN PARAS 4-10 OF REFTEL.

2. ESSENTIALLY, I AM IN AGREEMENT WITH WORKING GROUP OBSERVATION THAT IT WOULD BE IMPRUDENT TO LAY ALL OUR CARDS ON TABLE AT OUTSET. THEREFORE, EMBASSY DRAFT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED MORE IN NATURE OF FINAL NEGOTIATING GOAL RATHER THAN INITIAL BARGAINING POSITION. HOWEVER, EVEN HAVING SAID THAT, I ASSUME THERE MAY BE SPECIFIC AREAS WHERE FILIPINOS MAY INSISIT ON DIFFERENT FORMULATIONS AND WHERE WE WOULD BE WILLING TO CONCEDE THEM.

3. MY SUGGESTION TO WORKING GROUP IS TO PREPARE A DOCUMENT

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WHICH REPRESENTS THE MOST REALISTIC SITUATION THAT WE ARE

WILLING TO ACCEPT. THIS SHOULD NEITHER BE OUR MOST OPTIMISTIC DESIDERATUM NOR OUR ROCK-BOTTOM GUANTANAMO. IT SHOULD BE BASED ON ASSUMPTION THAT WE WILL BE ABLE ESTABLISH COOPERATIVE ATMOSPHERE IN NEGOTIATIONS, BUT WILL BE PREPARED MAKE SIGNIFICANT ADJUSTMENTS TO FILIPINO FELT NEEDS. THAT IS THE SPIRIT WHICH INFORMS EMBASSY DOCUMENT.

4. ONCE THIS "IDEAL" DRAFT HAS BEEN AGREED UPON, I WOULD SUGGEST GROUP AWAIT MY RETURN TO WASHINGTON (ON OR ABOUT 30 MARCH) TO DECIDE WHICH PROVISIONS WE WITHOLD IN INITIAL DRAFT TO BE TABLED, WHICH ONES WE MODIFY FOR FALLBACK CONTINGENCIES, AND WHICH ONES WE PRESENT AS FLASHLY LURES. WE MUST BE PREPARED TO MAKE SOME DRAMATIC OFFERS IN OUR FIRST PAPER IN ORDER TO INDUCE THE RIGHT SPIRIT OF COOPERATION IN OUR COUNTERPARTS.

5. IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS POSED PARA 3 REFTEL, I CONTINUE TO CONSIDER IT UNDESIRABLE TO APPROACH GOP FOR EITHER FORMAL OR INFORMAL STATEMENT OF GOP POSITION. CHARGE STULL WAS REBUFFED (MANILA 1037) WHEN HE RAISED ISSUE WITH ROMULO, AND I ASSUME ROMULO'S ATTITUDE REFLECTS DIRECT ORDERS FROM MARCOS. MOREOVER, I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT ANY GOP POSITION THAT WE EXTRACT FROM THEM WOULD BE EXORBITANT AND THEREFORE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE.

6. WHAT I WILL ATTEMPT TO DO PRIOR TO MY DEPARTURE IS TO OBTAIN INFORMAL READING FROM SECDEF ENRILE ON HIS LATEST THOUGHTS. SINCE DEPARTURE EXEC SECRETARY MELCHOR FROM SCENE, ENRILE HAS PRIMARY INPUT INTO GOP POSITION-MAKING.

7. AS FOR A LIST OF GOP OBJECTIVES, I BELIEVE THEY REMAIN LARGELY AS THEY WERE IN APRIL 1974 PAPER. "AUTOMATICITY" WAS, IN EFFECT, DROPPED BY PRESIDENT MARCOS IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT FORD ON DECEMBER 7, 1975. I THINK WE CAN USE THAT CONVERSATION TO BANISH THE ISSUE. "COMMERCIALIZATION" IS SOMEWHAT MORE OBSCURE. IN MELCHOR'S ABSENCE, IT HAS NO RPT NO SIGNIFICANT GOP CONSTITUENCY FOR CURRENT RPT CURRENT APPLICATION. HOWEVER, IT STILL COMMANDS ATTENTION AS A CONTINGENCY ISSUE TO BE FACED IN
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THE EVENT U.S. RELINQUISHES USE OF THE BASES. MARCOS LOOKED INTO THIS ASPECT WHEN HE INSPECTED ERSTWHILE BRITISH FACILITIES IN SINGAPORE LAST MONTH. WE THEREFORE MAY HAVE TO CONSIDER AN ANNEX ON THIS SUBJECT. BUT I WOULD DEFINITELY LEAVE THAT FOR FILIPINOS TO RAISE AND WOULD NOT RPT NOT WISH TO ANTICIPATE THEM IN OUR DRAFTING PROCESS.

8. THE MOST TICKLISH UNRESOLVED ISSUE IS "RENTAL." THE

SPANISH AGREEMENT AND THE EXPECTED TURKISH AGREEMENT
ESTABLISH A LINKAGE BETWEEN BASE UTILIZATION AND MILITARY
ASSISTANCE. GIVEN CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS
CONTINUATION OF MILITARY AID PROGRAMS (ESPECIALLY GRANT
AID) FILIPINOS WILL PROBABLY WISH TO ENHANCE THEIR
PROSPECTS FOR CONTINUATION OF SUCH PROGRAMS IN PHILIPPINES
BY INCLUDING SUCH PROVISIONS IN THEIR AGREEMENT. WHEN
SPANISH DOCUMENTS ARE PUBLISHED, IT WILL NOT RPT NOT BE
LOST ON THEM THAT THERE IS A \$24 MILLION ANNUAL GRANT
COMPONENT EXPLICITLY STATED AND AN ADDITIONAL \$10 MILLION
ANNUAL ELEMENT CONCEALED IN THE CONCESSIONAL TERMS.
THE ARGUMENTATION THAT SPAIN IS NOT AN ALLY WILL BE
NULLIFIED BY THE TURKISH PRECEDENT WHEN IT BECOMES PUBLIC.
WE HAD, THEREFORE, BETTER BE PREPARED TO THIS ASPECT OF
THE NEGOTIATION. ONCE AGAIN, HOWEVER, I WOULD RECOMMEND
WE LEAVE INITIATIVE ON THIS SCORE WITH FILIPINOS.

9. FINALLY, I REPEAT MY EARLIER ASSUMPTIONS THAT FILIPINO
TACTICS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE RELATED TO THEIR
PARALLEL ENDEAVORS WITH US ON ECONOMIC NEGOTIATIONS.
ALTHOUGH BOTH WE AND THEY CAN AGREE TO KEEP THE TWO
ORGANICALLY SEPARATED, WE SHOULD ASSUME THAT THERE WILL
BE A CORRELATION. IF WE ARE PREPARED TO DO SOME OF THE
(RATHER MODEST) THINGS THE PHILIPPINES SEEKS ON THE
ECONOMIC FRONT - ESPECIALLY TARIFF CONCESSIONS ON MAHOGANY
AND COCONUT OIL - OUR WAY WILL BE EASED IN THE MILITARY
NEGOTIATIONS.

10. ON BALANCE, I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THIS WILL BE A
TRACTABLE EXERCISE IF WE APPROACH IT IN THE RIGHT FRAME OF
MIND. OUR MOST IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE TO GET
THE NEGOTIATIONS BEHIND US AND NOT RPT NOT LET THE LATENT
PRESSURES BUILD INTO A NEW PANAMA CANAL SITUATION.

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